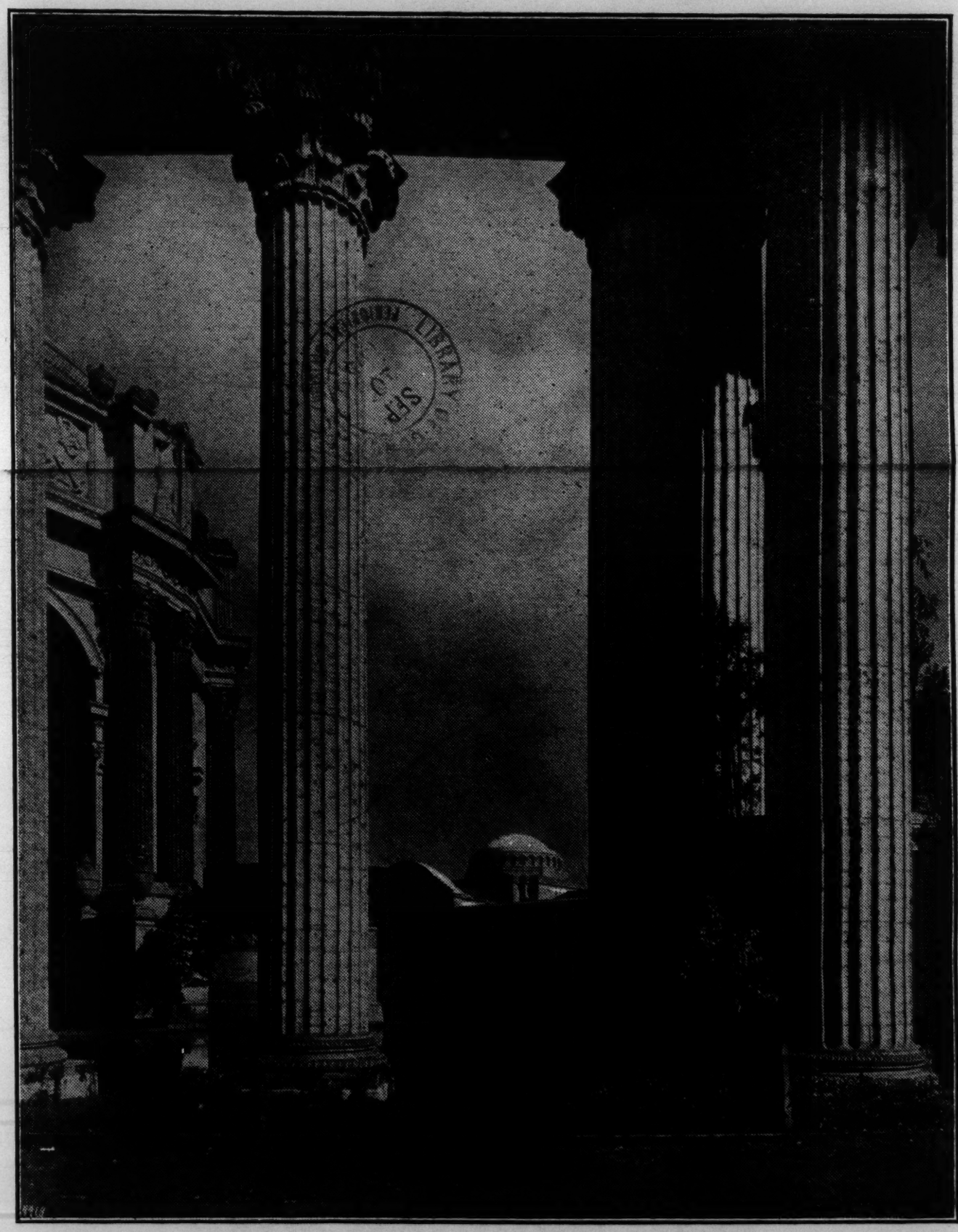
FIVE CENTS

The Suffragist

WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE
CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

SEPTEMBER 11, 1915



PALACE OF EDUCATION, PANAMA-PACIFIC EXPOSITION

Containing the Suffrage Booth of the Congressional Union

Vol. III SEPTEMBER 11, 1915 No. 37

The Suffragist

Weekly Organ of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage

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Notes of the Week

Suffrage Situation in Alabama

THE Alabama Senate defeated the suffrage bill twenty-one to ten on September first, the last day of its session. The House recently defeated a similar bill by only three votes, fifty-two for to forty-three against, a three-fifths majority being necessary to pass it.

The bill had been made a special order of the day, but Senator Holmes, who introduced it, secured an indefinite leave of absence on the thirty-fifth day and cotton warehouse legislation consumed all but half an hour of the working period. In that half hour the equal suffrage bill was called, a vote taken, and it was defeated.

The Alabama legislature meets only once in four years.

Alabama Suffragists Given Courtesy of Senate Floor

THE courtesy of the floor of the Senate of Alabama was recently extended, without objection, to Mrs. Solon Jacobs and Mrs. Oscar B. Hundley, equal suffrage leaders to whose untiring efforts is due the credit of the majority vote in the Alabama House.

New York and Massachusetts Suffragists Aid New Jersey

WELL-KNOWN suffragists of New York, New Jersey and Massachusetts met in Newark last Wednesday, when Mrs. Robert Gould Shaw, chairman of the Equal Franchise Committee of Boston, arrived there in her automobile accompanied by a party of suffrage speakers, to aid in the campaign to carry New Jersey on October 19.

Mrs. Shaw's party comprised Mrs. Francis Peabody Magoun, of Cambridge, who formerly made her home in New Jersey; Miss Margaret Foley, a suffrage speaker whose activities have covered the entire country, and Mrs. Richard Y. Fitzgerald, president of the Political Union of Massachusetts.

During the tour the Massachusetts party held rallies in Bayonne, New Brunswick, Elizabeth, Trenton, Passaic, Paterson, Camden, and Newark.

Senator Root on the People's Rule

UNMASKING "invisible government" as a patron-glutted system of political bossism, "an irresponsible autocracy, robbing democracy of its virility," Elihu Root, president of the Constitutional Convention, in an hour's speech whipped into line with the power of his oratory a majority of the delegates for the short ballot and the reorganization of state departments.

He said: "I have been told forty times since this convention met that you cannot change it. We can try, can't we? I deny that we cannot change it. I repel that cynical assumption which is born of the lethargy that comes from poisoned air during all these years.

"We cannot change it in a moment, but we can do our share. We can take this one step toward not robbing the people of their part in government, but toward robbing an irresponsible autocracy of its indefensible and unjust and undemocratic control of government, and restoring it to the people, to be exercised by the men of their choice and their control."

We wonder if the Senator realizes what good woman suffrage arguments he used.

New York Police Lieutenants for Suffrage

THE New York Police Lieutenants' Benevolent Association has passed a resolution endorsing woman suffrage. The first clause reads:

"The men of America believe in according to their mothers, wives, sisters and daughters every right which they claim for themselves, and one more—the right to be protected."

The resolution goes on to offer the women the association's "unqualified sympathy and support in their struggle for their political rights and recommend to the citizens of the state that the elective franchise be extended to the women of New York."

Members of the Woman Suffrage Party, which is conducting the New York City end of the state campaign for woman suffrage, have every reason to expect that a big vote in favor of the measure will be polled among the rank and file as well as among the officers of the police department.

The patrolmen who produce matches and light yellow parade lanterns, who are anxious that the street speakers shall locate their meetings at the very best point to "get the crowd," and do many other friendly services, have also signed yellow enrollment slips and say, "We're with you," when approached by workers.

New Vagrancy Law Removes Discrimination Against Women

UNDER a new vagrancy law men who accost women on the street will be arrested as are women who accost men. "Plain-clothes men" have long been on duty for the detection of women offenders, but on September 2 for the first time police matrons were sent out to secure the arrest of male offenders.

Whether or not the suffrage campaign now being vigorously waged in New York has anything to do with the new regulation, it is a fact that suffrage agitation, which brings to notice legal discrimination against women, helps to effect minor reforms, even before the vote is won.

Under the new statute, offenders of both sexes may be sent to the workhouse for from ten days to six months, according to the gravity of the case. The law provides for no fine.

Woman's Camp Like Plattsburg Urged

THE novel suggestion has been made by Mrs. Mary Logan Tucker, daughter of Gen. John A. Logan, that a woman's camp, conducted on the general plan of the business men's camp at Plattsburg, be held in October at some central location under the auspices of the woman's section of the Navy League, as a practical object lesson in woman's interest and part in national preparedness.

A course in first aid, signaling, making of bandages and other war supplies, and even instruction in the use of small arms would be the work of the students at the camp.

An investigation into the possibilities of Mrs. Tucker's plan will be made by the woman's section of the Navy League. This feature of preparedness among women will doubtless be a part of the section's work next summer, even if it is not found practical now.

A Suffragist at 107 Years

"OF COURSE I haven't many years to live, but my one ambition is to live long enough to cast a vote, and I think I will."

These were the words Mrs. Mary Sage, 107 years old, of Darrowville, a small hamlet, used as she signed the yellow slip indorsing woman suffrage. Mrs. Sage is the oldest woman in northern New York and she has always believed that some day the women of the state would be granted the right so long denied them.

"Do men neglect their business for politics?" she is quoted as asking when a friend mentioned one of the principal arguments of the antis. "Then if they don't why is it reasonable to expect women will?"

English Volunteer Women Workers Learn How Working-People are Treated

WOMEN, classified by a man on-looker as "students, teachers, and genteel ladies," are working as berry-pickers in England on account of the absence of the usual pickers "from causes more or less closely connected with the war," according to a writer in *The Common Cause*.

These women are having a first-hand experience of the way the people who usually do such work are exploited by employers. Among the injustices on the farm where the writer worked were inadequate shelter, misrepresentation concerning the system of payment, which often left the worker in debt to the farm for meals, and payment at rates, per pound of berries, too low to enable a living wage to be earned on the immature vines on which they were set to work.

An organization was formed, a committee appointed, and after a great deal of trouble, and a threat to strike, the farm agreed to the workers' demands with regard to payment. The sanitary inspector was sent for before the dormitories were protected against flooding by rain.

The manager's comment was: "What do they want, coming down here and kicking up a fuss? It's not women they are, but political agitators." The comment of one of the "agitators" was: "We will work for our country, but we will not line the owners' pockets. We know now that there is a striker's point of view."

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Complete Program
Woman Voters' Convention
San Francisco
September 14, 15, 16

Mrs. Frederick G. Sanborn

President Women's Board Panama-Pacific Exposition

WITH the arrival of Miss Alice Paul, national head of the Congressional Union, in San Francisco, the final program of the great Women Voters' Convention, to be held at the Exposition September 14, 15 and 16, has just been announced by the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage. This conference, as the first political convention ever held by women, is attracting widespread interest, not only in California, but throughout the country.

It is estimated that there will be eight hundred women at the luncheon at the Inside Inn, the combined social and business session, that opens the convention September 14, with Miss Charlotte Anita Whitney, chairman of the Congressional Union in California, making the address of welcome to the visting delegates and Mrs. Fremont Older, of San Francisco, acting as toastmistress. The speakers will be Mrs. W. J. Roach, of New Orleans; Miss Susan P. Frost, of Charleston, S. C.; Miss Alice Paul, of Washington, D. C.; Miss Katharine Craig, of Denver; Mrs. Margaret Zane Cherdron, of Utah; Mrs. Mary Cachot Therkelsen, of Oregon; Dr. M. M. Dean, of Montana, and Mrs. Charles Kayser, of Chicago, Ill.

Mrs. William Kent, the wife of Representative Kent, following the adjournment at the Inside Inn, will give an open-air reception and tea at her beautiful home in Kentfield. Eastern delegates of prominence will speak during the evening, including Miss Elsie Hill, daughter of Representative Ebenezer J. Hill, of Connecticut; Mrs. S. B. M. Young, wife of General Young, of Montana; Mrs. Effie Hyatt Van Tuyl, of Kansas, and Mrs. Elizabeth Gerberding, of San Francisco.

The local members of this Congressional district will respond to these addresses of the Congressional Union members on the federal amendment, the speakers being Representative William Kent, Representative Julius Kahn, Representative W. W. Ellston and Representative John I. Nolan.

Mrs. Sara Bard Field, of San Francisco, who has worked for the Oregon and Nevada suffrage campaigns, will act as chairman on the second day of the convention at the Exposition, when "Federal Work in Washington and in the States" will be the topic under discussion. "The History of the Federal Work," will be detailed by Mrs. William Kent, of California and Washington, while "The Practical Aspects of Federal Work" will be discussed by two women voters of national reputation from Nevada. Miss B. M. Wilson will talk on "The Two Amendments." Miss Anne Martin will deal with "The Coordination of State and Federal Work."

Miss Alice Paul

National Chairman of the Congressional Union

The great reception and ball in the ballroom of the California Building, tendered by Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, general chairman of the convention, and her assisting vice-chairmen, to the visiting delegates, will be held the evening of the second day. The receiving hostesses with Mrs. Belmont are Mrs. William Kent, California; Mrs. S. B. M. Young, Montana; Dr. Cora Smith King, Washington, D. C.; Mrs. George W. Fowler, Colorado; Miss Charlotte Anita Whitney, California; Mrs. P. Satterwhite, New York; Mrs. M. H. de Young, California; Miss Margaret Roberts, Idaho; Mrs. Lucius M. Cuthbert, Colorado; Mrs. Phoebe A. Hearst, California; Mrs. Mary Cachot Therkelsen, Oregon; Mrs. Lovell White, California; Mrs. Annie Wells Cannon, Utah; Mrs. J. Tracy Morrison, Idaho; Mrs. Andrew Fouilhoux, Oregon; and Mrs. Dora Phelps Buell, Colorado.

The final day of the convention, Thursday, September 16, will be presided over by Miss Alice Paul, national chairman of the Congressional Union. It is this session that is riveting the attention of politicians the country over, for at this time the future policies of the Union, the composition of the Sixty-fourth Congress, and the plans for the coming year will be discussed by the leaders and delegates. Mrs. Ida Finney Mackrille, of California, will open with an analysis of "Party Organization and Responsibility." "Woman Suffrage in the National Party Platforms" will be discussed by Mrs. Dora Phelps Buell, state factory inspector of the state of Colorado.

Mrs. William Kent

Member Executive Committee Congressional Union

Thursday evening a great mass demonstration and official godspeed to those western delegates who are to bear the message of the women voters in person to the Sixty-fourth Congress will be held in the Court of Abundance at the Exposition. In these beautiful ceremonies, representatives of the city and state, of the suffrage states as a whole, and of the women of the nations of the world, will be present to add their word to the message that is to be carried to Congress from the West. A great massed chorus of women, clothed in purple, white and gold surplices, open and close the ceremonies singing "The Woman's Hymn," with original words for the occasion by Sara Bard Field, and "The Suffrage Paean," which was sung on the steps of the Capitol at the demonstration last spring.

The Governors of the suffrage states will be represented by their commissioners. Governor Hiram W. Johnson, of California, will speak in person for himself and the absent officials. The women of the enfranchised and unenfranchised nations of the world, many of them in the brilliant costumes of their native land, will form a colorful background for the ceremonies. Mrs. Phoebe A. Hearst, the well-loved California philanthropist, will speak for the women of California. Miss Margaret Anglin, the great actress, who has just revived a series of the dramas of ancient Greece with wonderful artistry, has been asked to speak for the women of the world. The leader of the departing delegates will respond, and will be escorted to the gates of the Exposition in a procession of dignity and beauty.

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The Susan B. Anthony Amendment

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE.—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted

In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced

Into Congress, January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the U. S. Senate.

Reported from Committee,

In the Senate,

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.

In the House,

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.

Voted Upon

In the Senate,

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 26 (of whom 4 were announced as for, and 2 against).

March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

In the House,

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204 failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

Senator Borah Defends Himself

OPPONENTS of the federal suffrage amendment are being forced by the pressure of public opinion to a careful defense of their position.

The more closely these statements are looked into, the weaker this last line of woman suffrage opposition is seen to be.

Senator Borah, who recently issued such a statement, states that the proposed amendment will not be ratified by three-fourths of the state legislatures within any reasonable number of years. There are from sixteen to twenty states, he says, that will not accept among their voters over two to three million more colored voters.

The Senator is making a mistake, we believe, in concerning himself at this juncture with the impossibility of ratifying the proposed amendment. We are asking Congress to refer the amendment to the states. If sixteen states refuse to ratify it, no injustice will be done.

We are, however, working in the confidence that the Southern states will ratify the proposed amendment, since the suffragists in the South will urge their state legislature to do so. Southern women who are suffragists at all realize that as long as the Fifteenth Amendment is a part of our constitution, the colored problem of the South embarrasses a state solution of the suffrage question fully as much as it embarrasses a federal solution. If the state legislatures of the South are to enfranchise women, they cannot discriminate against negro women as such. The recent decision of the Grandfather Clause has made this point very clear. Any woman, therefore, who wishes her state to enfranchise women, is just as anxious to have the nation enfranchise women.

But though the state has not the right to disfranchise because of race, and should not have the right to disfranchise because of sex, it has the right to disfranchise because of unfitness. It can impose, if it wills, an educational qualification and a property qualification. All the southern states now impose either one or the other of these qualifications; some of them impose both. If a state should enfranchise women these qualifications would apply to women as well as men. If a nation forbids the state to disfranchise the women, the state qualifications will apply to women as to men.

A state, declares Senator Borah, will have nothing left if it cannot control its own electorate. But the federal suffrage amendment does not strike at the right of state control of its electorate. It simply forbids one specific act of injustice on the part of the states, that they shall not disfranchise women because they are women.

The state at the present time has a right to control its own courts, but it has no right to perpetrate certain kinds of injustice within its courts. It has no right, for instance, to deny trial by jury in criminal cases. Is it reasonable to stand for the right of a state to deny justice to individuals in the name of "local self government?"

Susan B. Anthony's Amendment

TWO suffrage amendments were introduced during the last Congress, one the Susan B. Anthony amendment, forbidding disfranchisement on the ground of sex; the second, introduced by Senator Shafroth in the Senate and Representative Mitchell Palmer in the House, which seeks to establish by federal amendment the initiative and referendum in the separate states for a state by state disposal of the suffrage problem.

Women who are interested in obtaining their political freedom are unanimous in believing that the Susan B. Anthony amendment is the superior measure. Politicians recently interviewed by deputations of their constituents are of the same opinion. Senator Smoot, of Utah, one of the most astute political tacticians in the United States Senate, declared that the amendment he is going to vote for next session is the Susan B. Anthony amendment. "There is absolutely no choice between the two amendments suggested," he said, "for the Susan B. Anthony amendment means suffrage for the women of the nation, while the Shafroth spells defeat in Congress for the cause of suffrage."

Senator Brady, of Idaho, said a few days afterwards that the Senate would undoubtedly favor the Susan B. Anthony amendment next session. "The other bill," he said, "is simply a way of getting out of voting on the direct question."

Congressman Anderson, of Minnesota, said to a group of his constituents—"After I had voted for the Bristow-Mondell amendment (known to suffragists as the Susan B. Anthony amendment) and that had failed, I was asked to vote for this Shafroth amendment. Those who came to see me seemed to assume that as I was in favor of woman suffrage, I would vote for any kind of bill. But I explained to them that I would not vote for the Shafroth bill for two reasons: As a lawyer I did not consider it good legislation to create special machinery for suffragists or any other class of people to get through their particular amendment, and in the second place I don't see that the Shafroth bill will get you very much farther than you are now."

Mr. Meyer London, the newly-elected Representative from the Twelfth Congressional District of New York, said in referring to the Shafroth-Palmer amendment, "It seems hardly credible that well-meaning supporters of the cause of woman's enfranchisement should seek to add new and cumbersome remedies in order to obtain an extension of the franchise."

Senator Sutherland, of Utah, said: "As I remember the Shafroth measure, the men on the suffrage committee considered it far inferior to the original suffrage resolution."

At the present stage of the suffrage movement we need to clear the decks of unsatisfactory substitute proposals, and unite on the support of a measure which every suffragist in the land wants to see enacted.

Senator Borah Affirmatively Opposes Federal Suffrage Amendment

IT HAS been made plain that many women in the state of Idaho do not support Senator William E. Borah in his negative vote on the amendment to the United States Constitution enfranchising women. Last Thursday morning (September 2), a notable interview took place between the senior Senator and a number of his women constituents in the Hotel Owyhee in Boise, at which representative Idaho women indicated their desire to aid in the enfranchisement of the women of the nation, and asked the help of Senator Borah as their representative in accomplishing this.

There were present women of his own party and all parties, there are members of every club and organization, business women, home-keeping women, women who in the midst of their busy lives had taken time to show their interest in the question of the enfranchisement of women. Every chair was taken, many stood in the doorways and, adding to the significance of the scene, a stenographer sat at a table in the corner ready to take down every word uttered. Few pleasantries were exchanged at the beginning; there was no lightness or frivolity apparent. The women were thoughtful women, and everyone, the Senator included, looked quite as grave as if the importance of the meeting were fully recognized.

Mrs. A. R. Curzon, a member of the Idaho committee of the Congressional Union, introduced Mrs. Joel Priest, a prominent club woman of Boise, as the first speaker. Mrs. Priest frankly told Senator Borah that many Idaho women felt that he had repudiated the women of his own state when he had voted against the national suffrage amendment.

Mrs. John T. Morrison, the wife of Governor Morrison, of Idaho, and a member of the Advisory Council of the Congressional Union, was the next speaker. She explained that the majority of western women had come from the East, that they had mothers and sisters in eastern states who were just as much entitled to the right to vote as they who from mere residence in the West had had the franchise bestowed upon them.

"Do you wonder, Senator Borah," said Mrs. Morrison, "that we want to go to the help of our own kinswomen? You say suffrage must come by states. Twice the women have been defeated in my own state of Ohio, and we women were unable to do anything to help them in their struggle. We cannot leave our homes and go on to the lecture platform in the state of New York, for instance, as we hear our senior Senator is to do. We western women have no power in these states. We ask you today, as you believe in the suffrage for women, to tell us what we women can do to help bring about the enfranchisement of our sisters, if we are not to use our power in the Congress of the United States to aid in securing the passage of the federal amendment."

Miss Mabel Vernon, of Delaware, then spoke, explaining she felt justified in speaking on such an occasion. As a citizen of the United States, she addressed a Senator of the United States whose voting power in the United States Senate affected her as it did every woman in the country.

THERE was applause from the delegation when the women finished the presentation of their case, but there was an intense silence when Senator Borah rose to make his reply. He had set forth his opinions on this question in the press, but never before face to face with the women of his state. He began his reply by saying that it is never pleasant for a public man to disagree with his constituents. He had realized when he took his position on the suffrage question he was risking the loss of the support of one-half the votes of his own state.

"I am not only not in favor of the proposed amendment to the national Constitution, but I am affirmatively opposed to it," said Senator Borah. "It is, in my judgment, inexpedient, impractical, unwise and unjust.

"In the first place, there is no possible chance of securing the adoption of the proposed amendment by the states. We could never, or at least within any reasonable number of years, secure woman suffrage in this way. It would require thirty-six states to ratify the proposed amendment. . . . There are

Mrs. John T. Morrison

Idaho Member of the Advisory Council

from sixteen to twenty states that would never ratify this proposed amendment so long as the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution remains a part of that instrument. Every fairly informed person must know that those states are not going to ratify this proposed amendment and accept among their voters from two to three million more colored voters when they now feel under the solemn necessity of limiting and circumscribing to the least possible number the colored vote. By this proposed amendment the women of the land who favor suffrage draw to their cause the whole race question and it is a burden which woman suffrage cannot successfully carry. . . . But assuming the bare thirty-six states might ratify, there is a much stronger reason which appeals to me. . . . The race question is a serious one and its great burden falls upon the South. . . . I do not hesitate to say, therefore, that I will never under any circumstances endorse a proposition to impose upon a large portion of this country a burden which I know they feel is peculiarly distressful to them.

". . . But as a matter of fact, it is not intended really to impose this burden on the South by actually giving the colored women of the South the right to vote. It is only intended to impose the burden on the South of getting rid of a right by some hook or crook which the amendment on its face would purport to guarantee. . . Solemnly to write into the charter of the government a pledge to those people knowing it is not to be kept and knowing that its violation will be connived at by North and South, is not only short-sighted as a matter of sound statesmanship but it is extremely immoral. No pledge should ever be made to any people through the national Constitution and especially to a weaker people, which is not in good faith to be kept. They have a right as a weaker people to be neither misled nor mistreated. Guarantees of the Constitution dealing with human rights should be sacred. I repeat that I cannot support an amendment which if adopted would be but a dead letter, a fraud upon the colored people, a lie written into the face of the charter of the land, demoralizing alike to the whites and the blacks. Will the women who advocate this measure publicly pledge themselves in their campaign throughout the South to the effect that if the amendment is adopted it will be enforced? . . .

"But final and conclusive beyond all possible change with me is the proposition that this amendment strikes at the very foundation of our whole blessed scheme of a federal union. We should never forget that it is utterly impossible to have a great federal union, strong and efficient, without great and powerful states upon which that union may rest. I cannot conceive of anything being left to a state which has not the right to say who within its own jurisdiction shall vote—who exercise the rights of selecting its officers and of determining its policies and principles. This question of determining the franchise is peculiarly and wholly a state matter. It has been considered so from the beginning. The fifteenth amendment modifies as to discrimination but the power to determine who shall vote is still left with the state. The preservation of the states in all the integrity of their reserve powers is essential and indispensable to their individuality and to their integrity as commonwealths. So believing, you will understand, of course, that there is no possibility of my changing my views."

WHEN Senator Borah had finished speaking there was a thoughtful silence but no sound of applause. Then, one by one, the objections he had given were taken up and answered. Miss Vernon asked permission to call the Senator's attention to the exact wording of the Anthony amendment to prove that the right to regulate the suffrage was still left to the individual states, discrimination on the grounds of sex simply being forbidden, and added that if there is a state in the union that considers sex a fair qualification it is right that more enlightened states should force it to deal justly with its women citizens.

It was then pointed out to Senator Borah that suffrage for women would not impose an additional burden upon the South. All the women, white and black, of the South would not be enfranchised upon a wholesale scale by the national amendment, but the women, white or black, who are able to meet the requirements today demanded of men would not and should not be denied the ballot simply because they are women. No "pledge" is made by the proposed eighteenth amendment that all negro women shall vote whether able to meet qualifications imposed by states or not; and therefore it cannot be justly said that advocates of the national amendment are conniving to "practice fraud" and "deceive" the negro women. The well-known figures from the census of 1910 showing 2,000,000 more white women than black men and women counted together in the fourteen southern states were shown to the Senator, proving that the number of white women who will be enfranchised and vote should be more emphasized than the comparatively small number of negro women who will gain the suffrage. One woman here remarked to the Senator, "Are you, then, more concerned about fulfilling a 'pledge' to black folk, Senator Borah, than you are about seeing justice done to all women?"

"But you can gain suffrage through the states," replied the Senator and, turning to Miss Vernon, said: "Why, you can have it in Delaware when you want it." When Miss Vernon indicated her amazement, he hastily added the time-worn saying, "When *all* the women want it."

Thus the interview was concluded. Senator Borah had not changed his position, but neither had the women. Indeed the women went away apparently more firmly convinced than before that the federal amendment is right and calls for their support.

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First North Carolina Deputation Welcomed by Representative Britt

THE Hon. James J. Britt, Representative to Congress from the Tenth Congressional District of North Carolina, gave a cordial and encouraging interview to a deputation composed of prominent women from his district at the Hotel Langren, Asheville, on September first.

He declared he had convinced himself of the justice and expediency of equal suffrage. He said he had not yet studied the question of enfranchisement by federal amendment, but promised to give it careful consideration.

The deputation was arranged by Miss Emily K. Perry, with the cordial cooperation and valuable aid of Mrs. Charles Malcolm Platt, President of the Asheville Suffrage League, and Vice-President of the North Carolina State Woman Suffrage Association. In response to a telephone message, Mr. Britt willingly and courteously agreed to come to the Hotel Langren to meet the deputation.

He arrived promptly on the stroke of three, the time appointed, and smilingly explained that he was known as the "minute man" in keeping his engagements.

Miss Perry was spokesman by the request of the deputation. She placed before Mr. Britt, briefly and concisely, the reason for asking his support for the suffrage amendment to be voted on by Congress, instead of leaving the question to the North Carolina legislature, which defeated it this year, and before which it could not be brought again until 1917.

MR. BRITT SURE WOMEN ARE NEEDED IN PUBLIC LIFE

Mr. Britt replied:

"After not a little earnest thought and serious reflection, I am fully convinced that it is not only wise and just, but eminently proper to give to women the use of the ballot. I know that we live in a democracy; that we govern ourselves; that we are charged with the keeping of the liberty and government that our fathers gave us, and of adding to them and of perfecting them, and of handing them on to others. This, I know, calls for the largest measure of wisdom and goodness on the part of the people. The chief means for this accomplishment is, and must ever be, the ballot. Again and again have I asked myself the question: How can we commit this work to the hands of the wisest and the best, and at the same time deny admission to the task to one-half of the wisest and the best? How can so vast a work, which is for all, and which demand the hands of all, be safely intrusted to the hands of a mere part of the whole? And whether we could, without great risk to our institutions, dispense with the enthusiastic work and the wise councils of American women, when we earnestly set ourselves to the task of making the nation a freer, a happier, and a more prosperous people. Again and again has the answer come back that this democratic experiment, the perfection of which is yet before us, is not the work of a few, but of all, is for all, and can be best done only by the joint efforts of all. That is why I favor the ballot for women. . . ."

Mr. Britt closed his remarks by saying:

"As to the proposed amendment to the federal constitution, as a means to your suffrage, that is a question which I have not found time carefully to study, but I promise you that I will give it as careful and intelligent consideration as possible, and that I will, as a friend, not as an enemy of woman suffrage, vote according to the promptings of my best judgment."

After reading his speech, Mr. Britt again accounted for his lack of knowledge about the federal amendment on the ground that he had had no time to study the question, and added that it was a surprise to him to have such a large and representative deputation of North Carolinians come to him in behalf of the amendment.

NORTH CAROLINA WOMEN READY TO MARCH UNDER FEDERAL AMENDMENT BANNER

In the parlor in which they were gathered was displayed a Susan B. Anthony amendment banner, the first ever seen in North Carolina.

Miss Perry told Mr. Britt the history of the banner, naming the many cities through whose streets it had been carried, and added, smilingly, "I don't know whether I could persuade North Carolina women to carry it yet, but I am sure they will later." Whereupon two members of the deputation called out that they were ready to carry it now.

Mr. Britt spoke of his desire that suffrage should come quickly in order that all children might be set free from toil and have their rightful playtime; whereupon Miss Perry observed that he had said "all children," not those of North Carolina alone, and so unconsciously had offered an argument for the national enfranchisement of women.

Among the seventeen members of the deputation were: Mrs. John Campbell, Miss Rogers, Mrs. George S. Powell, the Misses Lillian and Nancy Clement, Mrs. Mattie Crawley Lee, Mrs. Heilman, Miss Grist, Mrs. Henley, Miss Emma Klegg, Miss Celina Huvenne, and Mrs. M. W. Morrman, of Asheville, and Mrs. E. W. Somers, of Charlotte.

Miss Perry reports: "North Carolina shows a surprising growth of sentiment for concerted action in suffrage work, looking toward national enfranchisement. I made a three-weeks' campaign there, and was well-received, even in Raleigh, the center of conservatism. There in the eastern part of the state I found many suffragists eager to work in 'the big, unselfish way,' as they termed federal work, for the enfranchisement of women. Miss Lillian Clement, our very efficient membership chairman of North Carolina, and a brilliant and progressive young woman, voices the feeling of many in the state in saying 'No state needs the Congressional Union more than North Carolina does. We cannot without outside help get state action for many years. The Congressional Union's work for a federal amendment makes state action not less possible, but more so.'

Representative James of Michigan Will Vote for the Anthony Amendment

CONGRESSMAN W. FRANK JAMES, of the Twelfth Congressional District of Michigan, has announced that he will vote for the Anthony amendment. Mr. James made this statement both in a letter to Mrs. W. Nelson Whittemore, of Detroit, acting Chairman of the Michigan Branch of the Congressional Union, and to a deputation of his constituents from Houghton County, organized by the Congressional Union, which called on him at Hancock, Michigan, August 30. All local suffragists are jubilant over Mr. James's definite declaration of his intentions. As a member of the state senate he had voted in favor of a state suffrage amendment, as he recounts in his letter to Mrs. Whittemore, the essential part of which is given below. But how he would vote as a Member of Congress on the greater question of a federal amendment enfranchising women has now been made known for the first time.

Mrs. Whittemore went to the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, "the Copper Country," only a few days before the deputation took place. Although Michigan has had two state suffrage campaigns, she was the first suffragist from outside of Houghton County who had ever come into that county to work. She found intense enthusiasm among local suffragists for the Anthony amendment. The deputation included women from Marquette, Calumet, Dollar Bay, and Houghton.

Representative James, who was not certain that he would be able to be in Hancock at the time of the proposed visit, sent a letter to Mrs. Whittemore, stating both that he was in favor of the principle of equal suffrage and that he would vote for the federal amendment in Congress. He was, however, able to receive the deputation, according to appointment made by him with the suffragists of Houghton.

THE members of the deputation met at the Douglas House, Houghton, at eleven o'clock on Monday, August 30. The automobiles decorated with the purple, white and gold banners of the Congressional Union, which carried the women from Houghton to Representative James's office in Hancock, created a stir in the streets of the two cities. After Mr. James had welcomed the deputation, Mrs. Helen Vierling, speaking for the women of Marquette, thanked him for having taken a definite stand in favor of the federal suffrage amendment. Mrs. D. A. Lamont, of Calumet, expressed the appreciation of the Calumet Woman's Club. Mrs. M. L. Uren, of Houghton, spoke on behalf of the women of that city. She also handed to Mr. James a letter from Mrs. F. A. Jeffers, a prominent suffragist of Painesville, who was unable to join the deputation. Miss Alice Daly, a teacher from St. Paul, who was in Houghton in behalf of the peace movement, spoke earnestly of the need of self-supporting women, teachers and others, for the ballot, citing instances of teachers being seriously handicapped by lack of it. Among other members of the deputation were Mrs. Susan J. Pierce, of Marquette; Mrs. J. R. Hallingby and Mrs. John McRae, of Calumet.

REPRESENTATIVE JAMES'S letter reads: ". . . . Regarding woman suffrage—Senator L. L. Kepley introduced this resolution on February 7, 1913, and it was referred to the Committee on Elections, of which committee I was chairman. Five days later, on February 12, 1913, the committee reported out this resolution with a favorable recommendation.

"Representative Flowers, of Detroit, introduced a similar constitutional amendment in the House, and in order to save time, the Flowers amendment was substituted for the Kelley amendment. On March 5, 1913, this amendment passed the Senate with twenty-five favorable votes. I had the honor of being one of the twenty-five. . . .

"Many voted for the resolution for the reason that they believed in submitting any matter to the people for which there was a great demand.

"Personally, I not only voted for this amendment, but believe in it absolutely. Should such an amendment come up in the House of Representatives, I shall vote for the same. My recollection is that all of the Republicans of the Michigan delegation so voted last year.

"Regretting that I did not have the pleasure of meeting you, I am

"Yours very respectfully,

"(Signed) W. Frank James."

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Arizona

Headquarters: *Jefferson Hotel, Phoenix.*
Organizer: *Mrs. E. St. Clair Thompson.*

OUR convention is to be something quite out of the ordinary. As it will be held in the latter part of September when it is likely to be very warm, we shall probably hold it in the evening in the roof-garden of the Jefferson Hotel, which is new and centrally located. The roof-garden commands a view of all the country around.

Ice cream will be served in forms representing the Congressional Union flag. The purple will be of grape-juice ice, the white of vanilla cream, and the yellow of orange ice.

We are receiving numerous courtesies from the business men of the city. The Jefferson Hotel gives us our headquarters rent-free. The Arizona Motor Company has donated automobiles for street meetings. Mr. Robert Craig, the city manager, has issued a permit for meetings to be held every evening in front of the City Hall.

Today I addressed the Parent-Teachers' Association on the subject of the Susan B. Anthony amendment, and what the women voters of Arizona can do to bring about its passage.

Ella C. Thompson.

Colorado

Headquarters: 222½ *North Tejon Street, Colorado Springs.*
Chairman: *Mrs. Bertha W. Fowler.*

WE ARE now busy arranging for five deputations to Senators and Congressmen, which will make known to them the strong support the Susan B. Anthony amendment has among women voters.

We continue to hold our weekly tea-parties with suffrage talks at headquarters.

Among recent visitors to headquarters was Mrs. Henry N. Ess, President of the Equal Suffrage Association of Kansas City, Mo., and Vice-President of the Missouri State Woman Suffrage Association. Mrs. Ess spoke with satisfaction of what she had learned during her stay in a suffrage state.

Caroline E. Spencer.

Connecticut

Chairman: *Mrs. W. D. Ascough, 4 Washington Street, Hartford.*

OF ALL the Senators and Representatives from Connecticut, Senator Brandegee alone has so far refused to receive a deputation from the Connecticut Branch of the Congressional Union. In his letter replying to a request for an interview, Senator Brandegee referred to his vote against the Susan B. Anthony amendment on March 19, 1914, and said that if it, or any similar amendment, is proposed, or comes to a vote in the next Congress, he intended to vote against it. "My convictions in relation to this question," he continued, "are well known, and because of them and because of my vote on the amendment referred to above, I was denounced and blacklisted by the National Woman Suffrage Association." In spite of this stand on the part of the Senator, and in spite of the fact that he considers that his mind is "irrevocably made up" on the question, the members of the Connecticut Branch of the Congressional Union feel that they have a right to lay their views before him, and to ask his consideration of the arguments that they can adduce. Feeling this, Mrs. Ascough has arranged to go to New London by motor car with a small party of women, to ask that an opportunity be given for a deputation to wait on the Senator. The expedition has been arranged for Thursday, September 9, and the party will carry a letter which will be left for the Senator in case he refuses to see them personally. It seems impossible to believe that any man, elected to represent a constituency, should refuse to receive a body of women who have a demand to lay before him.

Annie G. Porritt.

Maryland

Headquarters: 105 *West Saratoga St., Baltimore.*
Chairman: *Mrs. Townsend Scott*
Organizer: *Mrs. Edna Story Latimer.*

THE Maryland Branch of the Congressional Union is cheerfully confident that every Congressman in the state, including those who now think they are "not going to do it" will soon see the women of their respective districts. The state chairman, Mrs. Townsend Scott, said in the course of a recent speech in Baltimore, "We intend that our representatives in Congress shall listen, at least, to the women of this state. It is preposterous that they should refuse to receive us."

The same determination lives in Mrs. James C. Leonard, Chairman of the First Maryland Congressional District. Mrs. Leonard recently sent the following letter to Representative Jesse D. Price, of that District.

Hon. Jesse D. Price,
Salisbury, Md.
My dear Mr. Price:

We are constantly in receipt of letters from members of the Congressional Union in this district, saying that they are waiting for a favorable reply to the letter sent you by Mrs. Guion Miller, asking you to grant an interview to a delegation of suffragists. We will appreciate it very much if you will state what day, and at what hour next week, you can meet this delegation in Easton.

I will greatly appreciate your making the date as early as possible, as I am extremely anxious to have this delegation over before sending my report of the political situation in this state to the Women Voters' Convention, which will be held September 14, 15 and 16, in San Francisco.

Very sincerely,
(Signed) Mrs. James C. Leonard,
Chairman First Congressional District, Maryland.

Miss Mina Jackson has accepted the chairmanship of the Third Congressional District. Miss Jackson is known both as a speaker and an efficient organizer. She will begin active work at once.

The Maryland Branch has 500 working members. It has pledged $2,000 to the Susan B. Anthony campaign, and has already raised $500, mostly in small sums, as the organization does not depend upon a few large contributors. Its work is done by volunteers, the stenographer being the only paid worker.

People at our open-air meetings evince interest in national suffrage. An especially successful meeting was held on Tuesday, August 31. Mrs. Minnie E. Brooke and Mrs. Edna Story Latimer were the speakers.

In October a big mass-meeting will be held in one of the Baltimore theaters. Women voters from California will speak. A series of parlor meetings will follow. We expect to send a delegation of five hundred women in automobiles to the rally and demonstration in Washington at the opening of Congress.

Edna Story Latimer.

Oregon

Headquarters: 409½ *Morrison Street, Portland.*
Organizer: *Miss Virginia Arnold.*

ON WEDNESDAY, August 25, United States States Senator Harry Lane, who has always voted for the Susan B. Anthony amendment to the United States Constitution, most graciously received a party of woman suffrage workers. The members of the deputation were introduced to the Senator by Mrs. J. R. Oatman, who acted as spokesman and organizer. Mrs. Oatman thanked the Senator for his loyal support, and added that the women were not satisfied with his merely voting, but had come to ask him to work for the amendment among the members of the Democratic Party, to which he belongs, and which is now in power. She also called his attention to the Women Voters' Convention of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage to be held at San Francisco September 14, 15 and 16, particularly stressing the object of this convention, namely, to mature plans for definite political action on the part of woman voters in support of the national suffrage amendment.

In the name of the Southern women, Miss Virginia Arnold, who is a Southerner, thanked Senator Lane for his work and interest in their behalf. "Do not lay any stress on that cry of the negro problem," she said. "It is only a political dodge and is used by the anti-suffragists of the South to frighten the people over the question of race supremacy."

After thanking the Senator for his time and kind consideration, the deputation departed with the assurance that the Senator would vote for the amendment.

MEMBERS and friends of the Oregon Branch of the Congressional Union were addressed by Marcus M. Marks of New York City, President of Manhattan Borough, by Mrs. Marks, and by ex-Governor T. T. Geer, of Oregon, at a luncheon at the Hotel Portland on Tuesday, August 24. Mr. and Mrs. Marks were introduced by Mrs. Lee Davenport, who expressed her keen pleasure at being able to present such distinguished persons from her own state. Mr. Marks expressed his interest in the suffrage cause, and said "I am doing everything in my power to further the cause in the present campaign in New York. In my talk to the members of the Chamber of Commerce, I urged on them the necessity of becoming real politicians. I urge that on the women as well. Be politicians to govern your city and state."

Ex-Governor Geer called attention to the orderliness of polling places in Oregon in comparison with what they were before the days of equal suffrage. Mrs. Marks made a plea for the people of Oregon who have voting friends in New York to write to them and urge them to vote "yes" on the suffrage amendment at the November election. Her two daughters also spoke.

The elder, who has just completed her first year in the Medical School of Cornell University, gave a graphic recital of how she failed to gain entrance to various Eastern universities on account of sex discrimination. "The thing I notice most in the West, where women vote," said Miss Marks, "is the lack of discrimination between men and women, both in your colleges and in your professions. I think I realize more fully than ever that there must be concerted effort on the part of the suffrage workers if they hope to gain equal suffrage, and with it the greater freedom." The younger Miss Marks, who is still in her early teens, spoke earnestly of her desire to aid the suffrage cause both in the states and in the nation. Other speakers were Mr. H. C. Uthoff, president of the Rationalist Society, who expressed his firm belief in the federal amendment; Miss DeWitt, an active suffrage worker from Missouri, who spoke of the trouble that is encountered by the women of the South in overcoming the Southern spirit of conservatism in their Senators and Congressmen. "I wished for something to carry back to the women of my state," said Miss DeWitt, "and I have it in the hearty endorsement by the enfranchised women of the West of our cause in the South. It will mean much to the women of Missouri to know that the women of the West are working in organizations for the freedom of the women of the South and East, sometimes before they do anything for their own further advancement."

Among those present at the luncheon were Miss Lyda O'Bryon, prominent attorney and former treasurer of the College Equal Suffrage League; Mrs. Martha Hampson, of Washington; Mrs. Isaac Swett, president of the Council of Jewish Women, and others.

Virginia Arnold.

Treasurer's Report

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Woman and the Educational Building

By Sara Bard Field

A RIPPLE of purple and gold on either side of the entrance marks the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage Booth in the Educational Building at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition. A world passes by. It looks reverently at the firmly sweet face of Susan B. Anthony whose portrait hangs upon the wall. It scans the record of the vote of the Sixty-third Congress with regard to the federal amendment enfranchising women of the nation. It peers with curious smiles at the brave array of lady dolls which mutely proclaim the voting and non-voting states for women and the forces which prevent suffrage. It asks our beloved organizer questions of such range as to link the Garden of Eden with the Exposition Grounds and the amoeba with John Jones of Clinton, Iowa; and then it journeys on to inspect the rest of the Educational Building.

But woman and her educational work are not left behind in our suffrage booth. One need not be a fanatical feminist to see the persistant permeation of the essentially feminine in every exhibit in this Palace of Progress. The swish of her garments is heard down each aisle. The soprano note is sounded on all sides. The maternal spirit hovers everywhere.

To the right of our booth is the exhibit of the National Council of Jewish Women, installed by women, managed by women, telling of the Jewish woman's work for her great race. To our left is the booth in which the new American Voting Machine is on display. Crowds of women as well as men are eager to be shown the advantages of its workings. One is reminded that four million women of this land are eligible to use any voting machine that their states adopt. The Susan B. Anthony amendment is included in the measures upon which visitors are asked to make a trial vote.

Our neighbors across from us are the American Federation of Labor. It is fitting we should face each other. Eight million working women of the land need the vote to help bring about the very conditions of shorter hours and bigger pay for which the Federation of Labor stands. Thousands of these women are now in organized industry. Woman desires economic independence but she does not desire to find it in the chambers of Pain and the halls of Exhaustion.

Commercial schools are in evidence, reminding one of the long line of women stenographers who, each morning, walk into the business world. One hears the click of a million typewriters pressed by the slender fingers of young girls. With mechanical insistance, they seem to write, "Votes for women; votes for women."

Near our booth, too, is a display both fascinating and moving, which combines four forms of activity in which woman has had a large share—the Joint Board of Sanitary Control; the Consumer's League! the National Child Labor Committee and the Mothers' Pension movement. The wise little lady, Mrs. Maybray, in charge of this important booth, tells one that men and women are equally interested in it.

The baby hospital display, with its placards concerning the care of infants, is a veritable woman's "amen corner." Likewise the infant department of the United States Government Health Exhibit which occupies the entire center of the Educational Palace. Indeed, the whole of this exhibit with its clear, scientific information concerning the cause, spread and cure of contageous diseases makes one visualize the white-capped, white-aproned army of nurses whose work is for the "healing of the nations;" of the organized bodies of women that form the Anti-Tuberculosis Society; of the women on hospital boards and the countless individual mothers bending above the cribs and beds on which sick childhood lies. Sex instruction—supremely a woman's job—is also represented here.

Schools and colleges have here their legitimately large place. A woman's college, Smith, is the only college which has a special booth, but women's names appear everywhere. They fairly rush at one—Emma Willard, Mary Lyon, Lucy Stone, Alice Freeman Palmer and a score of others—pioneers in woman's education. Back of all this exhibit which represents the mental dining tables of the country stand the army of school teachers serving the bread of life; the "truth" which shall "make us free."

In only one place I find no trace of woman's footprint, unless it be where she stands in clarion protest. It is in the spot where, among the Japanese exhibits of educational features, War is depicted. Beside these wooden statues of soldiers with the implements of destruction in their hands, woman will not stand. From this place of Death she who is the maker and conserver of Life flies to cry "Peace, peace to the nations." The spirit which turns from the pitiful child labor exhibit, determined to save the buds in the garden of humanity by means of the ballot, here determines anew to save, by that same manner, the half-blown flower of youth, and demands the right to the ballot that the world may be rescued from the bloody chaos of war to the serene perfection of Peace. "How beautiful upon the mountain are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings! that publisheth peace!"

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Members Who Have Secured New Subscribers to "The Suffragist"

(In this column we list the subscriptions sent in each week by our members. These are only a part of the total number of new subscriptions.)

AUGUST 29 THROUGH SEPTEMBER 4

Miss Virginia Arnold	1
Mrs. A. R. Colvin	2
Mrs. Ruby E. Koenig	1
Miss Gertrude Lynde Crocker	1
Mrs. William Bross Lloyd	1
Mrs. Anna Delony Martin	4
Miss Emily K. Perry	1
Miss Margaret Fay Whittemore	14
Mrs. Thoms S. Williams	1
Mrs. Harry Lowenburg	5
K. A. Morey	1
Miss Alice Paul	15
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